

Message Text

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42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

SAM-01 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 TRSE-00

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P R 151528Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 236

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME 2786

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 6767

C O R R E C T COPY (FOR PARA #6 LAST LINE)

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE
USIA FOR IBS, IEE, IPS

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR
SUBJ: GROMYKO ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

1. SUMMARY. GROMYKO'S MARCH 14 SPEECH AT CEREMONY IN HONOR OF WARSAW PACT TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONTINUED THE FIRMER LINE ON SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE WEST WHICH HAS BECOME THE RULE SINCE THE APRIL 1975 PLENUM. OMISSIONS FROM THE ACTUAL TEXT IN PUBLISHED TEXTS, WHILE MADE NECESSARY TO SOME DEGREE BECAUSE OF THE LENGTH OF THE SPEECH, IN GENERAL SERVED TO SOFTEN ITS TONE. GROMYKO'S CRITICISM OF ANTI-DETENTE FORCES IN WEST, THOUGH MOSTLY IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT, WAS EXTENSIVE, AND HIS PRAISE FOR THE WARSAW PACT EXPECTEDLY ONE-SIDED IN THE OTHER DIRECTION. HIS REMARKS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE GENERALLY POSITIVE, THOUGH HE EXPLAINED IN DETAIL WHAT THE U.S. CANNOT EXPECT FROM THE SOVIET UNION--DIMINUTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OF "DIGNITY"; CHANGE IN ITS "SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY"; OR SACRIFICE OF THE INTERETS OF ITS PACT ALLIES. IN A PUZZLING ASIDE APPARENTLY AD-LIBBED ON THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT, GROMYKO REBUKED THE SECRETARY BY NAME, THOUGH NOT IN OVERLY HARSH TERMS, FOR ALLEGED CRITICISM OF OPPONENTS OF DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE U.S. HE SPOKE IN POSITIVE AND UNCONDITIONAL TERMS OF IMPORTANCE OF THE UPCOMING VISIT OF BREZHNEV TO THE U.S. HIS REMARKS ON CSCE AND MBFR FOLLOWED STANDARD SOVIET LINES. HE UNAMBIGUOUSLY CLAIMED A LION'S SHARE OF THE CREDIT FOR THE "VICTORY" IN VIETNAM FOR THE "SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH", AND WELCOMED THE EVENT IN THE NAME OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WITH APPARENT EMOTION IN HIS VOICE. HE MADE ABSOLUTELY NO MENTION OF LAOS OR CAMBODIA, BUT WARNED JAPAN OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUBMITTING TO CHINESE PRESSURE ON THE HEGEMONY ISSUE. MIDDLE EAST AND WARSAW PACT ASPECTS OF HIS SPEECH ARE BEING REPORTED SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

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2. GROMYKO'S PORTRAYAL OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENTS SURROUNDING THE FORMATION OF THE WARSAW PACT WAS PREDICTABLY MANICHEAN. THE WEST (IN A PASSAGE NOT IN THE PRAVDA OR TASS TEXTS) GOT ALL OF THE BLAME FOR BREAKING THE EAST-WEST TIES FORGED BY THE WAR-TIME ALLIANCE, WHILE THE PACT, HELPED ALONG BY THE "CHANGING CORRELATION OF FORCES," RECEIVED ALL CREDIT FOR CHANGES FOR THE BETTER. HE DID CREDIT THE FRB WITH A "TURN TOWARD REALISM" IN CONCLUDING THE

EASTERN TREATIES, WHICH HE IMPLIED LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR OTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN EUROPE. HE WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT FURTHER MOVEMENT FORWARD WILL REQUIRE A "REALISTIC APPROACH" ON THE PART OF THE WEST, ESPECIALLY ON BERLIN, WHERE THE SOVIET UNION STANDS READY TO REBUFF FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO VIOLATE THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT. IN A PASSAGE OMITTED FROM PUBLISHED TEXTS, HE CALLED FOR "STRICT FULFILLMENT" OF THE AGREEMENT.

3. GROMYKO GAVE FAIRLY STANDARD TREATMENT TO SOVIET RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, SINGLING OUT FRANCE FOR SPECIAL EMPHASIS, BUT ALSO NOTING THE RECENT TURN TO THE BETTER IN RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND, WHICH HE SAID IS NOW MORE AND MORE "TURNING INTO THE MAIN STREAM OF DETENTE." HIS REMARKS ON PORTUGAL WERE RIGIDLY CORRECT, WARNING IN FAIRLY MILD TERMS OF EFFORTS BY REACTIONARY FORCES TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION, BUT AT THE SAME TIME PIOUSLY AFFIRMING THE RIGHT OF THE PORTUGUESE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. ALL REMARKS HE MADE ON PORTUGAL APPEARED IN THE PUBLISHED TEXTS.

4. ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, GROMYKO CLEARLY DEFINED THE BASIS ON WHICH "FURTHER DEVELOPMENT" IS POSSIBLE: THE U .S. SHOULD EXPECT FROM THE USSR
(A) NO SACRIFICE TO "TRANSIENT INTERESTS" OF SOVIET "SOVEREIGNTY OR DIGNITY";
(B) NO SACRIFICE OF "PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY" (HIS PROMPT TURN TO DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES INDICATES THE MEANING OF THIS PASSAGE); AND
(C) NO SACRIFICE OF THE INTERESTS OF OTHER PACT ALLIES.

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HE CONTENDED THAT THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR TO AMERICAN LEADERS, TO WHOM THEY ARE WELL KNOWN.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, GROMYKO GAVE UNUSUAL RECOGNITION TO "MUTUAL EFFORTS" BY U.S. AND USSR AIMED AT IMPROVING RELATIONS, AND, IN A PASSAGE STRANGELY DELETED FROM PUBLISHED TEXTS, SAID THAT TENDENCY TOWARD DETENTE PREVAILS IN THE U.S. (FULL TEXT OF OMITTED PASSAGE IS "ALTHOUGH IN THE USA THERE ARE FORCES WHO AS BEFORE ARE HOSTILE TO COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE TENDENCY TOWARD DETENTE NEVERTHELESS PREVAILS"). HIS UNCONDITIONAL STATEMENT THAT THE "UPCOMING VISIT" OF BREZHNEV TO THE U.S. WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IS FIRST LEADERSHIP STATEMENT WE HAVE SEEN IN SOME TIME RECONFIRMING THAT THE VISIT WILL TAKE PLACE.

6. AS ALREADY HAS BEEN REPORTED BY THE WIRE SERVICES, GROMYKO INTERRUPTED DELIVERY OF HIS PREPARED TEXT TO ATTACK THE SECRETARY FOR THE LATTER'S ALLEGED DEFENSE OF CONTINUED SUBSTANTIAL DEFENSE SPENDING IN HIS ST. LOUIS SPEECH. OUR TRANSLATION OF GROMYKO'S REMARKS FOLLOWS:

"ONLY TWO DAYS AGO, THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN KISSINGER DELIVERED A LENGTHY (TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: WORD HERE, "PROSTRANNYJ", CAN HAVE SLIGHTLY PEJORATIVE CONNOTATION AS IN "VERBOSE") SPEECH ON FORIEGN POLICY ISSUES. HE SPOKE IN ST. LOUIS. HIS SPEECH CONTAINED A SERIES OF CORRECT PROPOSITIONS, AND HE DECLARED IN THE NAME OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAT THE U.S. SHOULD PROCEED

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

SAM-01 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 TRSE-00

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P R 151528Z MAY 75
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 237
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AEMBASSY ROME 2787
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC
USIA WASHDC

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ON THE MAIN COURSE (NA FARVATERE) TOWARD DETENTE AND THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, INCLUDING WITH THE SOVIET UNION. A GOOD PROPOSAL. IN THE SAME SPEECH IS ALSO A STATEMENT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS NO MORE IMPORTANT OBLIGATION THAN TO SAVE THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S. FROM THE DANGERS OF A LARGE NUCLEAR WAR. ALSO A GOOD STATEMENT. BUT THIS SAME SECRETARY OF STATE SHARPLY CRITICIZES THOSE AMERICAN PUBLIC FIGURES WHO, THOUGH GENERALLY MEEKLY AND WITHOUT PERSERVERENCE, SPEAK OUT AGAINST SWOLLEN MILITARY BUDGETS, AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THE REDUCTION OF THOSE BUDGETS, INCLUDING THE MILITARY BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES. THE SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES CRITICIZED THESE CRITICS, AND DEFENDED SWOLLEN MILITARY BUDGETS AND THE POLICY OF THEIR FURTHER EXPANSION. SPEAKING MILDLY, THESE TWO THINGS--SYMPATHY WITH THE SEARCH FOR DETENTE AND WITH INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING--DO NOT ACCORD WITH EACH OTHER." (THESE REMARKS WERE MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF GROMYKO'S CRITICISM OF "MILITARISTS AND SOME STATES IN NATO" FOR INCREASING MILITARY PREPARATIONS; DEVELOPING NEW WEAPONS; AND PREVENTING NATO STATES WHO WISH TO REDUCE MILITARY SPENDING FROM DOING SO. THESE REMARKS WERE ALSO OMITTED FROM PUBLISHED TEXTS.)

7. GROMYKO'S REMARKS ON CSCE EMPHASIZE, NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, BASKET ON. HE ALSO MENTIONED THE NEED FOR A SUMMIT CONCLUSION, A REFERENCE SOVIET COMMENTATORS, PRESUMABLY FOR TACTICAL REASONS, HAVE RECENTLY TENDED TO OMIT. HIS REMARKS ON MBFR ALSO WERE MUCH ALONG THE STANDARD LINE, REAFFIRMING SOVIET INTEREST IN AN AGREEMENT IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITHOUT DIMINISHING THE SECURITY OF EITHER SIDE.

8. ON VIETNAM, IN LINE WITH REPEATED REFERENCES THROUGHOUT THE SPEECH TO SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, GROMYKO CLAIMED FOR THE "SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH" MUCH OF THE CREDIT FOR THAT NATION'S "LIBERATION". "THE YEAR-LONG STRUGGLE OF THE (VIETNAMESE) PEOPLE AGAINST AGRESSION WAS CROWNED WITH SUCCESS
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PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH, WHO TO THE VERY END FULFILLED THEIR INTERNATIONAL DUTY." WHEN HE CLAIMED THAT THE "ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE WELCOMES THE VICTORY OF THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE", HE DEPARTED FROM HIS USUAL MONOTONE DELIVERY TO INSERT SOME EMOTION--WHETHER ARTIFICIALLY OR NOT--INTO HIS VOICE.

9. GROMYKO MADE NO MENTION OF LOAS OR CAMBODIA IN HIS SPEECH.

10. ON CHINA, GROMYKO CONTRASTED THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD WITH THE "SERIOUS COMPLICATING FACTOR" OF CHINA'S COURSE, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-LENINIST AND HOSTILE TO PEACE. PEKING, SAID GROMYKO, IS TRYING TO BRING OTHER COUNTRIES TO ITS LINE BY PRESSURING THEM, AND HE MENTIONED JAPAN SPECIFICALLY. JAPAN SHOULD KNOW BETTER, HE SAID, AND WENT ON IN A CAREFULLY WORDED PASSAGE TO SAY THAT "HISTORICAL EXPERINECE" SHOWS THAT JAPAN'S SECURITY IS SERVED BY BETTER RELATIONS WITH ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING THE USSR. MOSCOW WANTS GOOD RELATIONS, SAID GROMYKO, AND JAPANESE LEADERS HAVE SAID THEY DO, TOO. AS CONCERNS CHINA POLICY, GROMYKO SAID MOSCOW'S IS CLEAR; HOWEVER, BY NOT REITERATING THE USUAL LINE ABOUT ALWAYS BEING READY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH PEKING, GROMYKO LEFT ONLY THE NEGATIVE SIDE STANDING.

11. MIDDLE EAST AND WARSAW PACT ASPECTS OF THE SPEECH ARE BEING REPORTED SEPTELS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW06767
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750173-0104, D750171-0253
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GROMYKO ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY
TAGS: PFOR, UR, (GROMYKO, ANDREY A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006